

Message Text

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R 241031Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2405
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6963
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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 1669

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, CSCE, ECE, PFOR, EGEN, EEWT, ENRG, SENV, ETRN
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SUBJECT: ECONADS: CSCE BASKET II EXPERTS' MEETING

REF: (NOTAL) A. STATE 61931 B. STATE 55312
C. GENEVA 2096 D. GENEVA 2024

SUMMARY: ECONADS PLUS EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS MET MARCH 21
TO DISCUSS FOLLOWING BASKET II (B2) ISSUES:
IMPLEMENTATION TO DATE, PREPARATIONS FOR AND ANTICIPATED
RESULTS FROM BELGRADE AND BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR ALL
EUROPEAN CONGRESSES. REGARDING BELGRADE, CLEARLY FEW

OF ALLIES HAVE GIVEN DETAILED THOUGHT TO WHAT RESULTS MIGHT EMERGE OR WHAT FORM THOSE RESULTS MIGHT TAKE. ON THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL, THE EC-9 ARE WELL OUT IN FRONT OF MOST OTHER ALLIES, HAVING IMPLIED IN THEIR FORMAL REPLY TO ECE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANOVNIK QUALIFIED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF HIGH LEVEL CONFERENCES AT ECE 32ND SESSION. TURKEY SURPRISED GROUP BY STATING CASUALLY ITS "CONDITIONAL" AGREEMENT TO ALL THREE SOVIET-PROPOSED CONGRESSES. US SUGGESTION THAT ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE TAKE MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE MET WITH GROUP'S APPROVAL. REPS. DECIDED TO HOLD ONE MORE ECONADS EXPERTS' MEETING ON BASKET II FOLLOWING ECE PLENARY AND BEFORE BELGRADE, PROBABLY IN LATE MAY. END SUMMARY.

2. REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION: UK REPORTED THAT NUMEROUS EASTERN COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY GDR, HAVE REGRESSED IN AREA OF ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL INFORMATION SINCE LAST NATO B 2 REVIEW. CANADA CONCURRED THAT SERIOUS INFORMATION PROBLEMS STILL EXIST WITH USSR AND GDR, ALTHOUGH IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN NOTED IN PERFORMANCE OF POLAND AND HUNGARY. TURKISH REP. REPORTED CONCLUSION OF AGREEMENT WITH USSR ON EXCHANGE OF ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL INFORMATION DURING RECENT VISIT TO SOVIET UNION OF TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER. HE ALSO INDICATED POSSIBILITY OF CONVENING SECOND BALKAN CONFERENCE, THIS TIME IN ANKARA. US REP REPORTED ON SEVERAL OF OUR UNILATERAL (BUSINESSMAN'S GUIDE TO CSCE, CSCE COMMISSION CONFIDENTIAL

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B2 QUESTIONNAIRE) AND BILATERAL (PERMITTING SOVIETS TO ESTABLISH WHOLLY-OWNED TRACTOR FIRM AND JOINT US/SOVIET FISHING CONCERN) ACTIVITIES AND CURRENT PROBLEM WITH SOVIETS REGARDING VISAS FOR US BUSINESSMEN RESIDENT IN USSR. SEVERAL DELEGATIONS REPORTED THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS ARE UNDERTAKING STUDIES TO ASSURE ALL THEIR DOMESTIC PRACTICES ARE IN COMPLIANCE WITH B2 PROVISIONS.

3. DANISH REP ANNOUNCED THAT DENMARK WILL BE FOLLOWING UP ON ITS EARLIER CSCE INITIATIVE FOR AN ARTIC SYMPOSIUM WITH A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL AT UPCOMING ECE MEETING OF AD HC WORKING PARTY ON CONSTRUCTION (MARCH 28-APRIL 1). DANISH SYMPOSIUM WOULD TAKE PLACE IN EARLY 1978 IN GREENLAND AND STRESS PROBLEMS IN CONSTRUCTION IN ARTIC CONDITIONS. NOTING US AND CANADA WILL BE HOLDING SIMILAR SEMINARS IN 1977, DANISH REP HOPED THESE WOULD NOT OVERLAP SIGNIFICANTLY WITH SUBJECT OF GREENLAND MEETING.

4. PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE: US EP STRESSED NEED FOR THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AT BELGRADE, WHICH CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ONLY BY DETAILED EXAMINATION OF PERFORMANCE TO DATE. WHILE WANTING TO BE SPECIFIC REGARDING SHORTCOMINGS IN IMPLEMENTATION WEST SHOULD NOT GET BURIED IN DETAILS. FOR THAT REASON US FAVORS DEVELOPMENT OF KEY THEMES IN EACH BASKET WHICH

WILL IDENTIFY BROAD CONCEPTS WEST WILL WANT TO SEE EMERGE
FROM BELGRADE AND TO CONTRAST WESTERN IMPLEMENTATION ACTIVITIES
WITH THOSE OF THE EAST. CANADA AGREED ON NEED FOR THEME
DEVELOPMENT BUT FELT THEMES SHOULD NOT BE TOO SPECIFIC
(E.G. WHILE TOURISM CLEARLY NOT A THEME, "FREER MOVEMENT
OF PEOPLE" WOULD BE). FRG REP NOTED THAT WHILE SOME EC
COUNTRIES (SUCH AS UK) FAVORED A PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH
APPROACH TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, FRG WOULD PREFER NOT
TO GET LOST IN SUCH DETAIL. UK REP INDICATED, IN RESPONSE
TO AN EARLIER QUESTION, THAT EC/CEMA RELATIONS WILL
CERTAINLY NOT BE A THEME AT BELGRADE, SINCE IN EW VIEW RECENT
EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS IN NO WAY
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REPRESENTS B2 IMPLEMENTATION.

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R 241031Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2406
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6964
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5. REGARDING REPORT TO BELGRADE BY ECE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANOVNIK, CANADIAN REP REPORTED THAT ECE WESTERN CAUSUS CONFIDENTIAL

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VIEW WAS THAT STANOVNIK SHOULD PREPARE HIS OWN REPORT WITHOUT INPUT OR SUGGESTIONS FOR CEC MEMBER COUNTRIES. SOVIETS, HOWEVER, WANT TO IMPOSE POLITICAL "GUIDELINES" ON STANOVNIK AND HAVE EVEN GIVEN HIM WRITTEN SET OF THESE GUIDELINES. REPS FELT THIS APPROACH MUST BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS AND THAT SIMPLEST SOLUTION IS TO GIVE STANOVNIK CARTE BLANCHE.

6. DOCUMENTS EMERGING FROM BELGRADE. CLEARLY EC-9 AND MOST OTHER NATO COUNTRIES HAVE GIVEN LITTLE IF ANY THOUGHT TO WHAT FORMAL RESULTS MIGHT EMERGE FROM BELGRADE. FRG, FOR EXAMPLE, QUESTIONED WHETHER US PROPOSALS WERE PROJECTS FOR AGREEMENT AT BELGRADE. CANADIAN REP. SUGGESTED THAT WEST'S STRATEGY SHOULD INCLUDE INTRODUCTION OF STRONGLY-WORDED RESOLUTIONS (WHICH WOULD EVENTUALLY BE DILUTED DURING NEGOTIATION PROCESS) WITH A VIEW TO HAVING SUBSTANTIVE COMMITMENTS EQUIVALENT TO FINAL ACT PROVISIONS EMERGE FROM BELGRADE. BOTH CANADIAN AND DUTCH REPS FELT THAT WEST MAY BE FOCUSING TOO MUCH ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES AND SHOULD SEEK SOME BALANCE WITH PROPOSALS EAST MAY FIND LESS OBJECTIONABLE. US REPS CIRCULATED OUR THREE AMPLIFIED PROPOSALS (ON VISAS, SMALL FIRM REPRESENTATION, AND ENTERPRISE DIRECTORIES) AND PROVIDED OUR LIMITED THINKING ON TECHNOLOGY (PER REF A). WE ASKED OTHERS TO REVIEW TECHNOLOGY AREA AND GIVE THEIR THOUGHT ON WHAT, IF ANYTHING, MIGHT BE DONE. WHILE GENERALLY WELCOMING THESE FURTHER CLARIFICATIONS FROM US, OTHER REPS WERE UNABLE TO GIVE DEFINITIVE VIEWS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS ON THEM. SEVERAL SAW PROBLEMS IN PHASING TECHNOLOGY PROPOSALS SO THAT IT WOULD CONVEY NOTION OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER FROM EAST TO WEST, WITHOUT IMPLYING RECIPROCAL OBLIGATION.

7. ROLE OF ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE IN BELGRADE PREPARATIONS: US REP POINTED OUT THAT COMMITTEE COULD AND SHOULD PLAY USEFUL AND SUBSTANTIVE ROLE IN BELGRADE PREPARATIONS. WE SUGGESTED THAT DIRECTORATE COULD BE ESPECIALLY HELPFUL IN DRAWING TOGETHER AND/OR ANALYZING: A) THE BROAD CONCEPTS OR THEMES; CONFIDENTIAL

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B) PROS AND CONS OF THE NEW PROPOSALS CURRENTLY ON THE TABLE; AND C) REACTIONS TO AND OPTIONS FOR DEALING WITH THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL. CANADA STRONGLY AGREED WITH US SUGGESTION, AND THOUGHT FIRST TWO MIGHT BE COMBINED WHILE NEW THIRD TOPIC MIGHT BE ADDED, NAMELY ANALYSIS OF SPECIFICS OF B2 IMPLEMENTATION TODAY,

INCLUDING A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY LIST OF EASTERN DEFICIENTIES.
THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT TO THESE PROPOSALS AND DIRECTORATE
WAS GIVEN MANDATE TO BEGIN WORK AT ONCE.

8. BREZHNEV PROPOSALS: DISCUSSION OF THIS ITEM WAS BEGUN
BY UK REP ALEXANDER (FROM UK GENEVA MISSION), SPEAKING FOR
EC-9. NOTING THAT EC LETTER TO STANOVNIK HAD BEEN DELIVERED
PREVIOUS FRIDAY(REFC), ALEXANDER APOLOGIZED FOR NINE'S
NOT HAVING CONSULTED IN ADVANCE WITH ALLIES. NINE BELIEVED
THEIR LETTER HAD TO BE DELIVERED BEFORE SECOND SOVIET LETTER (REF
D) AS ITS GREATER DETAIL ON THE THREE SUBJECT AREAS WOULD
HAVE REQUIRED NEW STUDY OF THEIR SUBSTANCE BY NINE. UK REP
FURTHER STATED THAT NINE ARE WILLING TO SEE ISSUE RESOLVED
"ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS" AT ECE 32ND SESSION, OTHERWISE AT
BELGRADE. NINE BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL ATTEMPT TO HAVE ECE
MEETING: A) ADOPT A SEPARATE RESOLUTION OR DECISION
ON CONGRESSES; B) AGREE IN PLENARY ON THE PRINCIPLE
OF CONGRESSES, WITHOUT ELIMINATING CONSIDERATION
OF ANY OTHER THREE PROPOSED TOPICS; C) BLUR THE LENGTH
SCALE, AND SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS; AND D) BLUR THE
ROLE OF THE ECE IN HODLING THEM. AS CONSEQUENCE, NINE BELIEVE
WEST SHOULD: A) FOCUS ATTENTION ON STANOVNIK APPROACH (IN
E/ECE/911) OF POSSIBLE ECE MINISTERIALS IN SEVERAL
SUBSTANTIVE AREAS INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO THOSE THE
SOVIETS PROPOSED AND STRESSING THE ENVIRONMENT; B) RESIST
A SEPARATE DECISION ON SOVIET PROPOSALS AT ECE MEETING;
AND C) SEEK A FINAL RESOLUTION OF ISSUE THERE WHICH WOULD
INDICATE WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO ENVISAGE A HIGH-LEVEL
MEETING(S) IN DUE COURSE IF CRITERIA COULD BE SET OUT ALONG
LINES OF STANOVNIK'S IDEA. SUCH A RESOLUTION SHOULD ALSO,
IN VIEW OF NINE, TAKE NOTE OF ALL IDEAS -- NOT JUST ENVIRONMENT
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SET OUT IN STANOVNIK REPORT, INVITE STANOVNIK TO CONSIDER HOW
THE ECE SHOULD PURSUE FURTHER WORK IN THESE AREAS, AND ASSURE

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R 241031Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2407
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6965

USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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THAT EXCLUSIVE ROLE OF ECE IN ANY EVENTUAL MEETINGS BE STIPULATED.
UK REP CONCLUDED THAT WEST MUST AVOID BEING CAST INTO
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OBSTRUCTIONIST ROLE BY SOVIETS AND THAT STANOVNIK IDEAS
REPRESENT ADMIRABLE ALTERNATIVE. WEST SHOULD ACCEPT THEM,
GETTING EVENTUAL CONFERENCES INTO THE UN SYSTEM AND MAKING
THEM MANAGEABLE.

9. US REPS REGRETTED THAT THE NINE HAD DEIE TO TAKE
SUCH BASIC STEP WITHOUT ADVANCE NATO CONSULTATION, PARTICULARLY
SINCE SOME ALLIES --US INCLUDED-- HAD NOT BEEN PLANNING
TO SEND LETTER TO STANOVNIK ON THIS ISSUE. WE FURTHER POINTED
OUT THAT PARA 6 OF NINE LETTER APPEARS TO AGREE TO THE PRINCIPLE
OF HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS IN THE AREAS PROPOSED BY SOVIETS.
(COPY OF LETTER BEING HAND CARRIED BY SWARTZ) WE ALSO
NOTED THAT THIS IS BROAD POLITICAL QUESTION, WHICH MUST
BE CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO OVERALL CSCE EQUATION, AND
WONDERED WHETHER THE WEST SHOULD IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES
MAKE A MAJOR POLITICAL CONCESSION TO SOVIETS BY TAKING
SOME STEP (I.E. AT ECE MEETING) TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET
CONGRESS PROPOSAL. WE ASKED IF NINE ENVISAGE UPCOMING ECE
MEETING AS BEING A DYNAMIC POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WHICH
WOULD MOVE TOWARD SUCH A RESULT AND STATED WE DO NOT
BELIEVE THIS SHOULD BE THE CASE.

10. LENGTHY DISCUSSION ENSUED, WITH UK INDICATING THAT
NINE DO INDEED ENVISAGE LIVELY NEGOTIATING SESSION WITH
SOVIETS AT ECE MEETING AND THAT, WHILE POSSIBLE FALL-BACK

POSITIONS OF NINE COULD NOT BE SPECIFIED AT THIS POINT, PARA. 7 OF THEIR LETTER IS AND WILL REMAIN THEIR VIEW. (KEY SENTENCE OF PARA 7 READS: "HOEVER, IT IS ALREADY CLEAR THAT ANY HIGH LEVEL MEETING OF THE KIND MENTIONED IN THAT (I.E. STANOVNIK'S) REPORT COULD ONLY BE A MEETING HELD WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE AND UNDER ITS AUTHORITY AND THAT THE NORMAL VENUE FOR SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE GENEVA.") IN SUM, IT APPEARS THAT NINE ARE PREPARED TO AGREE AT ECE MEETING TO PRINCIPLE OF HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY STANOVNIK.

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11. FRG REP POINTED OUT THAT FINAL NINE POSITION FOR ECE MEETING IS STILL UNDER REVIEW, TOWHICH UK REP SAID HE HOPED THE POSITION HE HAD JUST DESCRIBED ENJOYED SUPPORT AMONG OTHERS OF THE NINE. SOME FURTHER DISCUSSION REVOLVED AROUND THE WEST'S POSSIBLY USING THE NORWEGIAN AIR POLLUTION CONFERENCE PROPOSAL, TOGETHER WITH A FEW OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL TOPICS, AS A MEANS OF SUBSTANTIVELY REPLYING TO THE SOVIETS. NORWEGIAN REP SAID NORWAY WOULD NOT OBJECT TO THE APPROACH, BUT EVERYONE SHOULD REALIZE NORWEGIAN PROPOSAL COULD IN ITSELF NOT BE A REAL COUNTER TO THE SOVIETS SINCE IT IS MUCH MORE LIMITED IN SCOPE. ALSO, NORWAY DID NOT WISH THEIR INITIATIVE TO BECOME A PAWN IN DISPUTE OVER SOVIET PROPOSALS WITH RISK OF LOSING SUPPORT OR EVEN BEING DROPPED.

12. TURKISH REP (KARACA, HEAD OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS DEPARTMENT, MFA) THEN SURPRISED GROUP BY RECALLING THAT SINCE DECEMBER 1975 KOSYGIN VISIT TO ANKARA TURKEY HAD CONCURRED IN PRINCIPLE TO EUROPEAN TREATMENT OF TOPICS DEALT WITH IN BREZHNEV PROPOSALS, ALBEIT WITHIN ECE FRAMEWORK. HE STRESSED THAT TURKEY WOULD NOT WISH TO HAVE WEST AGREE TO DEAL ONLY WITH ENVIRONMENTAL MATTERS IN THIS CONTEXT BUT FELT THAT TRANSPORTATION WAS ALSO IMPORTANT AREA FOR EAST-WEST COOPERATION. KARACA'S DELIVERY, IN HALTING ENGLISH, MADE HIS STATEMENT SOUND AS IF TURKS HAD ALREADY AGREED TO BREZHNEV PROPOSALS, PER SE. CHECKING LATER WITH RESIDENT ECONAD/(BOLUKBASI), WE WERE TOLD THAT TURKS HAD SOUGHT TO KEEP THEIR RESPONSE TO SOV/EE INTER-LOCUTORS FROM BEING NEGATIVE WHILE NEVERTHELESS MAINTAINING PRIMACY OF ECE RESPONSIBILITIES IN MULTILATERAL B2 IMPLEMENT. TRANSLATING FROM TURKISH VERSION OF DEC 29, 1975 KOSYGIN VISIT COMMUNIQUE, HE SAID". . . BOTH PARTIES AGREED IN PRINCIPLE THAT THE COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS ON ENERGY, TRANSPORTATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT ARE TO BE TAKEN ON A EUROPEAN SCALE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT" (I.E. WITHIN THE ECE). HE NOTED THAT SIMILAR WORDING HAD BEEN USED IN LAST JANUARY'S COMMUNIQUE ON PUJA

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13. CANADA ENTERED DISCUSSION BY NOTING THAT CONSEQUENCES
OF DOING NOTHING ON CONGRESSES AT ECE MEETING MAY BE WORSE
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THAN DOING SOMETHING. EVEN IF WEST COULD AGREE TACTICLY
ON PURSUING STANOVNIK ALTERNATIVE, THE QUESTION
OF PRESTIGE WOULD NOT PERMIT SOVIETS TO CONCUR IN SUCH AN
APPROACH, FURTHER, THE PROPOSAL WILL NOT GO AWAY AND COULD
SERIOUSLY HINDER EEE WORK. FINALLY, HE NOTED, IF SOVIETS
RAISE THE CONGRESSES PROPOSAL AT ALL IN BELGRADE, IT

WILL DOUBTLESS BE IN CONTEXT OF DRAWING WORLD ATTENTION
TO WEST'S NEGATIVE ATTITUDE.

14. UK REP CONCLUDED DISCUSSION BY EXPRESSING HOPE THAT
ALLIES CAN BE IN CLOSE TOUCH ON THIS DIFFICULT ISSUE IN FEW
WEEKS REMAINING BEFORE ECE SESSION.

15. GROUP AGREED TO HOLD ONE MORE BASKET II SESSION
AT NATO AFTER ECE PLENARY AND BEFORE BELGRADE, TENTITIVELY
AT END OF MAY. BY THAT TIME, IT WAS HOPED, RESULTS OF ECE
MEETING CAN BE ASSESSED AND FINAL HARMONIZATION OF VIEWS
FOR REVIEW MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE.
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To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS MULTIPLE
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vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/339e01b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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